

Message Text

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GENEVA FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

VIENNA FOR LAKE AND MCHENRY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ADDRESS

TEXT, AS DELIVERED, OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ADDRESS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THIS CONFERENCE, TO OUR HOST,
IN THE GREAT AND INDEPENDENT NATION OF MOZAMBIQUE AND TO ALL
OF YOU WHO HAVE COME FROM SOME 90 NATIONS, TO DECLARE YOUR
SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. IT IS INDEED
A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE WITH YOU REPRESENTING THE VIEWS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND JOINING WITH YOU IN
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SUPPORT OF THOSE GOALS FOR LIBERATION OF THESE TWO NATIONS.

2. I MUST APOLOGIZE FOR MY COLLEAGUES FROM THE PRESS. THEIR
INTEREST IN THIS CONFERENCE I THINK, HOWEVER, IS AN
INDICATION OF THE IMPACT YOU ARE MAKING FROM MAPUTO ON THE
ENTIRE WORLD. FOR THEY REPRESENT ACCESS TO THE MINDS AND
HEARTS OF MORE THAN 50,000,000 AMERICANS ALONE, EACH EVENING
WHO ARE SHARING IN THE RESULTS AND THE PROCEEDS OF THIS MAPUTO
CONFERENCE. AND SO IN THE INTEREST OF GETTING OUR MESSAGE
ABROAD I HOPE YOU WILL BE TOLERANT OF THEM AND I HOPE THEY

WILL NOT DISTURB ME TOO MUCH.

3. I HAVE A SPEECH AND YOU WILL BE PROVIDED WITH COPIES OF THAT SPEECH. I THINK ESSENTIALLY IT IS A GOOD SPEECH AND IT EXPRESSES THE HOPES AS WELL AS THE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN AND YET THE THINKING THAT I HAVE HEARD HERE IS NOT A DESIRE FOR MORE STATEMENTS OF POLICY. FOR I THINK THAT YOU HAVE HEARD FROM THE UNITED STATES IN MANY WAYS THAT THERE IS A NEW INTEREST IN AFRICA AND A NEW DETERMINATION TO WORK WITH YOU TOWARD MAJORITY RULE. YOU HAVE HEARD ALSO FROM THE "GANG OF 5" AS WE ARE CALLED OF THE WORK THAT WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO TOGETHER. AND THE QUESTION IS NOT WHAT ARE WE DOING, THE QUESTION IS NOT WHAT ARE THE POLICIES THAT WE DISCUSS, THE QUESTION WE FACE IS HOW BELIEVABLE ARE THOSE POLICIES.

4. WHAT RIGHT HAVE YOU, AS AFRICANS, TO BELIEVE THAT ANYTHING IS ANY DIFFERENT NOW THAN IT WAS 5 YEARS AGO. CAN I SAY TO MY BROTHER ROBERT MUGABE THAT HE SHOULD NOT THINK OF US IN THE SAME CONTEXT AS OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM NOW IN 1977? CAN I SAY TO SAMORA MACHEL THAT THINGS ARE DIFFERENT NOW THAN DURING THE PERIOD IN WHICH THE PORTUGUESE USED THE ARMS THAT WERE SENT TO THEM AS PART OF OUR NATO DEFENSE TO OPPRESS THE PEOPLES OF ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE?

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5. SO I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THE TIME ALLOTTED TO ME TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE CREDITABILITY OF OUR POLICY AND WHY I THINK THESE POLICIES REPRESENT SOMETHING OF A REVOLUTION IN THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND ARE NOT IN FACT ANDY YOUNG POLICIES, NOR ALONE ARE THEY JIMMY CARTER POLICIES BUT THEY ARE POLICIES THAT HAVE SLOWLY AND GRADUALLY EVOLVED FROM A REVOLUTION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

6. IT WAS IN 1951 WHEN I WAS A STUDENT ATTENDING A CONFERENCE THAT I RAN ACROSS ONE OTHER BLACK STUDENT IN THE CONFERENCE. THAT BLACK STUDENT HAPPENED TO BE EDUARDO MONDLANE OF MOZAMBIQUE, AND ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF FRELIMO. AND WE HAPPENED TO BOTH BE READING GANDHI IN 1951. FOR IT WAS INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE THAT HAD JUST CAPTURED THE IMAGINATION OF MANY STUDENTS ALL AROUND THE WORLD. AND WE LOOKED AT WHAT HAPPENED IN INDIA FOR SOME SENSE OF RELEVANCE TO OUR OWN SITUATION.

7. I WAS VERY FORTUNATE FOR IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, WE WERE ABLE IN SPITE OF MASSIVE VIOLENCE, AND IN SPITE OF FURSTRATIONS AND HARDSHIPS THAT HAVE HARDLY BEEN REPORTED OUTSIDE OF THE UNITED STATES WE WERE ABLE TO MAINTAIN A MOVEMENT WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY DEDICATED TO THE GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES OF SECURING CHANGE THROUGH

THE USE OF FORCE WHICH DID NOT DESTROY EITHER PERSON OR PROPERTY. IT WAS IN FACT THAT AN ORGANIZING OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCES, WITH THE EMPHASIS BEING ON THE ECONOMIC FORCES, THAT BROUGHT ABOUT FIRST CHANGES ON BEHALF OF BLACK AMERICANS. IT WAS THE NON-COOPERATION WITH EVIL INSTITUTED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING FIRST IN THE MONTGOMERY BUSS BOYCOTT THAT SAID TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHLAND THAT THEIR ECONOMIC SYSTEM COULD NOT RUN WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF BLACK AMERICANS, WHO WERE IN FACT A MINORITY OF THAT SYSTEM.

8. EVEN THOUGH WE WERE A MINORITY WE WERE STRONG ENOUGH ECONOMICALLY TO MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROFIT AND LOSS,
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IN A SITUATION WHERE THE PROFIT MARGIN IS USUALLY NOT MORE THAN 10 TO 12 PERCENT AND SO IN FACT THE NON-COOPERATION WITH THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY PRODUCED THE CONCERN FOR CHANGE. BECAUSE THEY REALIZED THAT WITHOUT OUR PARTICIPATION THEY WOULD BE WITHOUT PROFIT. AND SO IT WAS IN FACT MANY OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAT WE MALIGNED, THAT WE SOMEHOW GAINED OUR FIRST IMPETUS FOR FREEDOM AND SUPPORT, LONG BEFORE OUR CONGRESS AND EVEN BEFORE OUR SUPREME COURT AND CERTAINLY BEFORE WE HAD A PRESIDENT THAT CARED ANYTHING ABOUT BLACK AMERICANS.

9. OUR CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT LED NOT ONLY TO CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH THE ECONOMIC USE OF POWER, BUT FROM THE DESEGREGATION OF OUR CITIES WE MOVED INTO A POLITICAL STRUGGLE WHICH FULFILLED THE PROPHECY FREDERICK DOUGLAS MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE, WHEN HE SAID THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN AMERICA, WAS THE STRUGGLE TO SAVE BLACK MEN'S BODIES AND WHITE MEN'S SOULS. WE FOUND IN FACT THAT WHEN THE GAINING OF POLITICAL RIGHTS, WE SET FREE WHITE AMERICANS TO APPROACH A CONCEPT OF NON-RACIALITY WHICH LITERALLY DEALT WITH THE PROBLEM OF OUR OWN SOUTHERN COLONIALISM.

10. IN A SENSE WE BLACKS WERE A DOMESTIC COLONY WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IT WAS IN A SENSE TRUE THAT THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE STATES WAS AN EXPLOITED COLONY. AND AS A RESULT OF THE ENFRANCHISEMENT, THE VOTING OF MORE THAN 2 MILLION BLACK VOTERS BETWEEN 1965 AND 1970 WE IN EFFECT SET IN MOTION A POLITICAL REVOLUTION THAT NOW IN SOME SENSE PUTS THE SOUTH IN CHARGE OF THE NATION.

11. JIMMY CARTER WOULD NOT BE PRESIDENT TODAY HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR SOME 11,000 VOTERS IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI. PEOPLE WHO PRODUCED THE MARGIN OF VICTORY IN THAT STATE, WHO WERE ESSENTIALLY BLACK, POOR AND SHARE-CROPPERS, THAT BY THEIR VOTES IN THE LATE HOURS OF ELECTION NIGHT TURNED THE TIDE
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AND GAVE HIM VICTORY, SO THAT WE SHOUTED THAT THE HANDS THAT USED TO PICK THE COTTON HAD NOW PICKED A PRESIDENT. AND THAT IS A SUBSTANTIAL REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT LESS THAN 12 YEARS AGO MOST OF THEM COULD NOT VOTE AT ALL.

12. NOT ONLY DID THE BLACK POLITICAL MOVEMENT PRODUCE CHANGE; IT SET IN MOTION AND AWAKENED THE STUDENTS OF WHITE AMERICA. OUT OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR US THE WHITE STUDENTS BECAME SENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM. AS A RESULT OF THEIR ACTIVITY MANY OF OUR OWN STUDENTS WERE SHOT DOWN ON THEIR OWN CAMPUSES IN KENT STATE, IN JACKSON STATE, IN ORANGEBURG SOUTH CAROLINA, AND SOUTH CAROLINA STATE. THEY DID, NEVERTHELESS, EVOLVE A MOVEMENT AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM THAT RADICALLY REFORMED AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND BROUGHT ABOUT A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS THAT WE FACED EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD. AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AWAKENED, THE PUERTO RICANS AWAKENED, THE NATIVE AMERICANS OR THE AMERICAN INDIANS, ALL BECAME A PART OF THAT CHANGE. AND THAT MAJORITY WHICH WAS TREATED LIKE A MINORITY, THE WOMEN OF AMERICA ALSO BECAME POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND FORGED A NEW COALITION FOR A CHANGE THAT MADE POSSIBLE THE ELECTION OF JIMMY CARTER GROWING OUT OF A CONCERN FOR THE END TO RACISM AND AN END TO MILITARISM AND IMPERIALISM AND IN FACT BROUGHT ON A STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM WITHIN OUR OWN MIDST.

13. WE TOO HAVE HAD TO STRUGGLE AGAINST DOMESTIC IMPERIALISM, THE ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF SOME OF THESE SAME MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAT WE FOUND A WAY TO UTILIZE IN OUR PURSUIT OF FREEDOM TO DOMINATE THE POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES THROUGH HUGE CONTRIBUTIONS AND MANIPULATION OF OUR POLITICAL PROCESS. THAT WAS WHAT WATERGATE WAS ALL ABOUT: CORPORATIONS ATTEMPTING TO BUY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. AND YET, BY SOME STRANGE ACT OF FATE, OR GOD, IT WAS POOR UNLETTERED BLACK MAN THAT DISCOVERED THE BREAK-IN AT WATERGATE AND LED TO THE REFORM OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM SO THAT IS IS NOW NO LONGER UNCLASSIFIED

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POSSIBLE FOR CORPORATIONS TO CONTRIBUTE LARGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY IN AMERICAN POLITICS. IN THE ELECTION OF JIMMY CARTER YOU HAVE THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THAT WAS ELECTED BY THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE; MUCH OF IT WAS ONE DOLLAR EACH CONTRIBUTED THROUGH OUR TAX SYSTEM.

14. I SAY THAT WE ARE NOT IMMUNE TO THE STRUGGLES WHICH AFRICA FACES FOR WE HAVE KNOWN THOSE STRUGGLES OURSELVES AND SOME HOW WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO COME THROUGH THEM. IT IS BECAUSE OF THIS THAT YOU SEE A DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES AROUND THE WORLD THAT ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE NEW SPIRIT OF AMERICA THAT WAS BROUGHT ON IN FACT BY A SILENT AND NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION IN OUR OWN

COUNTRY.

15. PRESIDENT CARTER GREW OUT OF THIS POLITICAL TRADITION BUT ALSO, COINCIDENTALLY ENOUGH, HE GREW UP IN A PART OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WHERE ALL OF HIS PLAYMATES AS A CHILD WERE BLACKS, WHERE ALL OF HIS ASSOCIATIONS PRIOR TO HIS LEAVING TO GO TO OUR NAVAL ACADEMY WHERE PREDOMINANTLY BLACKS, BUT THESE WERE NOT JUST POOR BLACKS, WHO EXISTED IN A SUBSERVIENT POSITION TO HIM. HIS NEXT DOOR NEIGHBOR WAS A BISHOP OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH WHO HAD IN FACT RELATED TO THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH WHICH EXISTS THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND SO THE PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IS SOMETHING THAT GOES ALL THE WAY BACK TO OUR PRESIDENT'S CHILDHOOD AND A COINCIDENTAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE BLACK AMERICAN BISHOP.

16. AND WHAT OF WALTER MONDALE APPOINTED TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES WHEN HUBERT HUMPHREY BECAME THE VICE PRESIDENT? IN THE YEARS AFTER 1964 THERE HAS NOT BEEN A SINGLE VOTE IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES ON WHICH WALTER MONDALE DID NOT SIDE WITH THE POOR, AND THE OPPRESSED, AND THE BLACK AMERICAN. NOT ON ONE, NOT ON ANY ISSUE NO MATTER HOW CONTRO- UNCLASSIFIED

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VERSIAL. AND HE WAS THE MAN WHO MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE BROUGHT OUR CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE SENATE AND ROOTED OUT SOME OF THE CLANDESTINE ACTIVITY WHICH AMERICANS ALL BECAME ASHAMED OF.

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17. WALTER MONDALE IS THE MAN WHO AT THIS VERY MOMENT IS MEETING WITH JOHN VORSTER AND I CANNOT THINK OF ANOTHER PERSON THAT I WOULD TRUST MORE IN THAT CONFRONTATION. I CANNOT THINK OF ANOTHER PERSON WHO WOULD BE MORE UNCOMPROMISING ABOUT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. AND YET I CANNOT THINK OF ANOTHER PERSON THAT WOULD BE MORE SENSITIVE AND HUMOROUS AND UNDERSTANDING AND CAPABLE OF DISARMING AND PERHAPS DEFANGING THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA.

18. AND SO I MUST CONFESS THAT WHILE I RESPECT YOUR SKEPTICISM AND EVEN YOUR CYNICISM, THERE IS IN FACT A CHANGE IN AMERICA THAT MAKES ME EXPREMELY HOPEFUL ABOUT THE PROCEEDINGS THAT ARE GOING ON HERE AND THE CONTINUED ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN IN THEM.

19. ONLY 2 DAYS AGO THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, SPEAKING IN LOS ANGELES, SPOKE OF A MANDATE WHICH HE GAVE TO MONDALE AND TO ME AS WE CAME TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA. THE NEW YORK TIMES IN A LENGTHY EDITORIAL IN THE MIDDLE OF THE WEEK REFERRING TO THIS CONFERENCE, AND OF THE MEETING OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE IN VIENNA AND TO THE CONFERENCE OF ALL THE

UNITED STATES AFRICAN CHIEFS OF MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES
IN AFRICA MEETING IN THE IVORY COAST TALKED ABOUT A NEW
AND COORDINATED AND WELCOMED POLICY TOWARD AFRICA, THAT IS NOW
EMERGING UNDER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

20. I WOULD SAY TO YOU THAT WHILE YOU MUST BE TRUE TO YOUR
OWN STRUGGLES I HOPE YOU WILL RESPECT US WHEN WE ARE TRUE TO
OUR OWN EXPERIENCES. THEY HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES AND
IN SOME SENSES THEY MAY NOT BE APPLICABLE. BUT I THINK THAT
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IF WE LOOK AT THE ECONOMIC LINKAGES THAT WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR
MANY OF THE PROBLEMS WE FACE, IF WE DO AN ANALYSIS OF THE
RACISM THAT WE FIND PERVERSIVE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE FIND A
PHENOMENA WITH WHICH I AM VERY FAMILIAR AND WHICH DOES
NOT FRIGHTEN ME AT ALL. IT HAS BEEN A PART OF MY WHOLE LIFE,
COME TO ME WITH MY MOTHER'S MILK.

21. SO THE STRUGGLE THAT I SENSE HERE IS A STRUGGLE THAT, YES,
BRINGS TEARS TO MY EYES WHEN I HEARD THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE
SING LAST NIGHT OF THE SONGS INFLUENCED BY THE MINERS OF SOUTH
AFRICA. AND YET I WOULD SAY THAT THE SENSE OF PASSION, THE
SENSE OF URGENCY THE DEDICATION TO TRUTH IN SPITE OF THE
PROCESSIONS OF PROTOCOL, I THINK THAT WHAT IS CALLED FOR AND
WHAT HAS BEEN VERY MUCH SUPPORTED BY THIS ADMINISTRATION AS I
HAVE ATTEMPTED TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION AS WE RELATE TO A
NEW POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA.

22. I WOULD REMIND YOU RESPECTFULLY THAT THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM
IN AFRICA HAS NOT BEEN JUST A HISTORY OF VICTORY THROUGH ARMED
STRUGGLE. THE MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS OF AFRICA ACHIEVED INDEP-
ENDENCE THROUGH NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND WHERE THERE WAS THE
POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THOSE COUNTRIES MOVED
MUCH MORE RAPIDLY IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT. AND SO FOR AFRICA'S
SAKE I THINK THAT WHENEVER THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOT-
IATED SETTLEMENT, WHENEVER THE PRESSURES AND FORCES CAN BE
BROUGHT TO BEAR, TO BRING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE AND JUSTICE
WITHOUT THE MASSIVE DESTRUCTION OF PERSON AND PROPERTY, I
WOULD SAY THAT THE HISTORY OF AFRICA SAYS THAT IS TO BE
PREFERRED.

23. IT IS ONLY WHEN NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS HAVE BEEN TOTALLY
REFUTED AND REJECTED THAT ARMED STRUGGLE BECOMES INEVITABLE.
AND YET THEY ARE DIFFERENCES IN ARMED STRUGGLE AND NEGOTIATED
SETTLEMENT THAT I WOULD HOPE WOULD BE RESPECTED. WHEN ONE
RESORTS TO ARMED STRUGGLE ONE'S ADVERSARY BECOMES AN ENEMY
TO BE DESTROYED, AND YET IN A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ONE'S
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ADVERSARY BECOMES A FORCE WITH WHICH ONE SEEKS TO RECONCILE

ONE'S DIFFERENCES.

24. INDEED IT MAY BE DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES WHICH EXIST IN ZIMBABWE, OR WHICH EXIST IN NAMIBIA. AND YET WITH THE PRESSURES AT HAND, WITH ECONOMIC FORCE, WITH THE MORAL FORCE AND WITH THE THREAT OF ECONOMIC ISOLATION WHICH OCCURS IN THE KIND OF DEMARCHE WHICH CAME FROM THE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, ONE IS FACED WITH A POWER THAT INDEED IS SUPERIOR TO MILITARY POWER. I DARE SAY THAT EVEN WITH A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO MOUNT SUFFICIENT POWER TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THIS AREA STRICTLY THROUGH MILITARY MEANS. AND YET THE VERY WEAKNESS OF THE STATES IN CONTENTION IS THE VERY FACT THAT THEY HAVE SPENT SO MUCH MONEY ON MILITARY POWER.

25. AS A RESULT OF THE INTERNAL UPRISINGS OF THE YOUNG WHO ARE CRYING FOR FREEDOM THERE IS A CONFRONTATION BEING PRODUCED WITHIN THE CONSCIENCE OF ALL MANKIND. INDEED IT IS NOW EASIER TO GAIN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR THE EMERGING NATIONS OF BLACK AFRICA THAN IT IS TO SOUTH AFRICA TO GET LOANS THROUGH THE WORLD BANK AND THE MONETARY FUND. THIS IS AN INDICATION OF THE ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY AND THE STRENGTH WHICH ECONOMIC POWER MAY HAVE IN THIS OVERALL SITUATION.

26. IN THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC CHANGE ONE FINDS THAT QUITE OFTEN BLANKET SANCTIONS DO NOT PRODUCE THE DESIRED RESULTS. BUT SOMEHOW A COMBINATION OF PRESSURES AND INCENTIVES FOR CHANGE CAN PROVE MORE EFFECTIVE EVEN AS TACTICS OF WISE RESTRAINT IN THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAVE PRODUCED SIGNIFICANT ADVANTAGES. AND SO I WOULD SAY THAT THOSE OF US COMMITTED TO NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE RESPECTED FOR THE TACTICS THAT WE ATTEMPT TO UTILIZE AND THAT EVEN WHEN THERE ARE DIFFERENCE IT IS VERY HARD TO ADAPT TACTICS OF ARMED STRUGGLE TO THE PROBLEMS OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS. PEOPLE WHO ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATED UNCLASSIFIED

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SETTLEMENTS HARDLY HAVE THE MORAL RIGHT TO TELL THE PEOPLE WHO ARE ENGAGED IN ARMED STRUGGLE HOW TO RUN THEIR PATHS AND DETERMINE THEIR FREEDOM.

27. THE POWER THAT CONFRONTS SOUTHERN AFRICA IS NOT ONLY WESTERN POWER, IT IS AFRICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EMERGING IN THE STATES OF NIGERIA, IVORY COAST, LIBERIA AND GABON AND ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND MANY MANY OTHERS THAT THE RICH RESOURCES AND EMERGING STRENGTH OF EVEN THOSE SO-CALLED MODERATE STATES IS HAVING A REVOLUTIONARY IMPACT UPON THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION. FOR SUCCESS BRING ENCOURAGEMENT AND AS WE HAVE SEEN THE DEMISE OF COLONIALISM AND RACISM THROUGHOUT AFRICA AS WE HAVE SEEN GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BECOME ESSENTIALLY NON-RACIAL--GOVERNMENTS WHERE PEOPLE OF RACIAL DIFFERENT HERITAGES PARTICIPATE TOGETHER. TODAY IT IS VERY HARD TO FIND A GOVERNMENT ANYWHERE IN AFRICA, IN

SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHERE SOME PEOPLE FORMERLY OF EUROPEAN DECENT, THAT WE CONSIDER WHITE, DO NOT PARTICIPATE AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. BUT THAT KIND OF ANTI-RACIALISM, THE KIND OF THING THAT PRESIDENT MACHEL HAS TALKED ABOUT SO PROFOUNDLY SOMEHOW HAS BECOM AN ENCOURAGEMENT ALONG WITH THE NEW ECONOMIC STRENGTH AND SUCCESS FROM THE DEVELOPING STATES OF AFRICA THAT MAKES EAST AND WEST ALIKE LOOK TO THIS NATION WITH NEW HOPE AND WITH NEW COURAGE.

25. I THINK IN THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPMENT WE WILL FIND A COMMON GROUND, A COMMON GROUND THAT WILL INEVITABLY ENGULF THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. IT IS BASED ON SOME OF THOSE ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS THAT I HOLD SUCH GREAT HOPES FOR CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

29. FOR IT IS VERY HARD TO SEGREGATE ONE'S ECONOMY. THERE IS NO COLOR TO WEALTH. EVEN IN ZIMBABWE A COUNTRY WHERE BLACKS ARE INEVITABLY DENIED EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK, THERE IS IN FACT ENOUGH WEALTH SO THAT EVERY BLACK CITIZEN IN ZIMBABWE DID NOT PURCHASE ANYTHING BUT FOOD OR MEDICINE FOR ANOTHER UNCLASSIFIED

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3 OR 6 MONTHS, IT WOULD BRING AN IMPACT ON THE SMITH REGIME EQUAL TO THAT OF ARMED STRUGGLE. BECAUSE THE VERY SMALL MERCHANTS FROM WHICH SMITH DERIVES HIS SUPPORT WOULD BEGIN TO FEEL THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE NOT DOING ANYTHING, BUT NOT DOING SOMETHING.

30. WE FOUND THAT EVEN THE MOST CONSERVATIVE BLACKS IN AMERICA, THE PEOPLE THAT WE COULD NEVER EVEN GET TO COME TO A MEETING ABOUT FREEDOM, WE COULD GET EVEN THOUGH WE COULD NOT GET THEM TO DO ANYTHING, WE COULD GET THEM TO DO NOTHING. AND WHEN WE GOT THEM TO AGREE TO DO THE SAME NOTHING, NAMELY KEEPING THEIR MONEY IN THEIR POCKETS, THEY IMPACTED ON THE ECONOMY IN A WAY THAT COULD NOT BE IGNORED. SO I WOULD SAY TO YOU, DO NOT NEGLECT THE WEAPONS OF ECONOMIC ARSENAL THAT ARE AT YOUR DISPOSAL. WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE WHO EXIST IN THESE INTERNAL SITUATIONS. TOGETHER WITH THEM, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO MOBILIZE ENOUGH SUPPORT SO THAT THE PROBLEMS OF MY GOOD FRIEND, THE AMBASSADOR FROM GUINEA-BISSAU, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOULD NOT HAVE COME TO PASS.

31. WE SHOULD NOT HAVE TO HAVE ANOTHER CONFERENCE ON ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. WE HAVE A SONG THAT WE USED TO SING WHICH SAID "FREEDOM IS A CONSTANT STRUGGLE" WE STRUGGLED SO LONG THAT WE MUST BE FREE. AND YET THAT WAS A SONG THAT WAS WRITTEN BY BLACK MEN AND WOMEN IN SLAVERY BEFORE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, AND YES THEY DID KNOW THAT FREEDOM WAS A CONSTANT STRUGGLE. AND THEY DID, DAY BY DAY, ACHIEVE MORE FREEDOM SO THAT WE WERE BROUGHT TO THE PLACE NOW WHERE WE NOW ENJOY FULLY FROM THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF OUR NATION.

32. I LINK THAT SONG THAT "FREEDOM IS A CONSTANT STRUGGLE"

WITH THE CRIES OF "FREEDOM NOW" AND THE CRIES OF "UHURU"
OF THE CRIES OF "A LUTA CONTINUA" I SAY TO YOU THAT AS WE
STRUGGLE TOGETHER, WHATEVER OUR SLOGAN AND WHATEVER OUR
STRATEGY, IF OUR DETERMINATION IS TRUE, AND IF WE DO PERSIST,
WE CERTAINLY WILL SUCCEED.

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